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THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

CENTRE FOR JAPANESE STUDIES SHEFFIELD S10 2TN (U.K.)

STUDIES ON THE CONTEMPORARY ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF JAPAN.
(COLLECTED PRELIMINARY PAPERS)

VOLUME ONE

(November 1989)

By Prof. Dr. DARCY CARVALHO
University of Sao Paulo
Faculty of Economics and Administration
Department of Economics
Visiting Scholar at the Ctr. J.S. of the
Sheffield University (1989-1990)

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FOREWORD

The objective of this collection of preliminary versions of papers on the contemporary economy and economic system of Japan is to salvage informations, insights and promising paths for further research, obtained in the course of my work on a project proposed to Japan Foundation, in 1988, and now being continued, about The Japanese Economic System and Its Environment : A Study on the Economic Development of Japan and Its Main Causes.

They are presented in the form of independent papers, to facilitate their reproduction and circulation, for discussion and criticism.

VOLUME ONE contains a bibliographical annex and five papers, whose contents can best be apprehended from the list of ABSTRACTS, at the end of the volume. Here I will just indicate the objective of each paper and then show how it can be related to the main scheme of the general research.

The first one outlines the research project I am engaged in. It supplies the general framework to which the other papers belong and in which they play a definite part.

The second paper represents a first attempt to construct a preliminary historical-economic overview of the Japanese process of socio-economic development. It represents the introductory chapter of Part II of the general research project, as described in the initial outline.

The third and fourth papers are associated with Part III of the research project, and are studies on the international environment of Japan, on those aspects concerned with the relations between the Japanese economy and the developing countries.

These two papers were read at the Yokohama National University,

during a session on the Brazilian-Japanese Relations in the Context of Japan's Economic Strategies towards the Developing Countries, presented to the Modern Economics Seminar, on June 15, 1989.

The last paper also refers to the study of the international environment of the Japanese economy, but is concerned with the relations between Japan and the United States, that is to say it centers on the crucial part of her uneasy economic relations with the developed economies.

VOLUME ONE closes with a bibliographical list and a list of ABSTRACTS where additional informations on the thesis of each article can be obtained.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Acknowledgements are due to several individuals and institutions. I am indebted to the Japan Foundation for its generous support of my research for the first twelve months of an eighteen-month stay in Yokohama.

I also have special thanks for Sophia University, Rikkyo University, Research Division I of Bank of Japan, the Faculty of Economics of Tokyo University, Maison Franco-Japonaise and the British Council, all of them in Tokyo, for permitting me to use their libraries and other research facilities.

My period of studies in Japan would not have been possible without the consent of the University of Sao Paulo Faculty of Economics and Administration, and would not have been so pleasant without the kind hospitality of the Yokohama National University Faculty of Economics and International House.

I also take special pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to the Centre for Japanese Studies of Sheffield University for granting me the opportunity of advancing my research in its premises and in the several libraries of Sheffield University.

I wish to take this opportunity also to express my gratitude to the Ambassador of Brazil in Japan Mr. Carlos A.B. Bueno, who facilitated my first contacts in Tokyo, through the Brazilian Embassy's First Secretary Mr. Pedro H. Lopes Borio and the Head of the Cultural Sector Miss Maria Lucia de Almeida Ramos.

Mr. Jose Costa Pereira, Charge d'Affairs of the Embassy of Portugal, in Tokyo, introduced me to the extensive bibliography of Charles Boxer on the deeds of the Portuguese in the Far East, and also suggested to me useful contacts with scientific institutions in Lisbon.

Last but not least, I wish to thank Prof. Dr. Joseph Kreiner, Director of the Tokyo's Phililip-Franz-von-Siebold-Stiftung Deutsches Institut fur Japanstudien, for his kind advices concerning research on Japan in Germany.

To all these and to all the other individuals, here unnamed, who extended to me their much needed and much appreciated help and encouragement, during my stay in Japan, my sincerest and heartfelt thanks.

Research Project Outline

THE JAPANESE ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND ITS ENVIRONMENT: A STUDY ON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN AND ITS MAIN CAUSES

By Darcy Carvalho
University of Sao Paulo
Department of Economics

ABSTRACT : This paper outlines the objectives and contents of a long-term research project on Japan's economy and economic system, and the main causes, proximate or remote, of her post-war economic development.

At the Sheffield University
Centre for Japanese Studies

8 October 1989

INTRODUCTION

In the following sections I will be outlining the contents and objectives of a research project on the contemporary economy of Japan, its processes and strategies of economic development. It was proposed to the Japan Foundation as a research activity to be carried out in Japan by the author, in the capacity of Visiting Professor at the Yokohama National University Faculty of Economics, during the period April 05, 1988 to September 29, 1989.

The project was started in Japan and continued in Europe, initially at the Centre for Japanese Studies of Sheffield University, to which the author has been invited as Visiting Scholar, for five months, in the period September 29, 1989 to February 29, 1990, by Professor Glenn D. Hook.

The research has been financially supported by a Japan Foundation long-term professional fellowship, granted for the fiscal year 1988-1989.

A number of persons in Japan have aided or offered eventual support to this project. Among them I am particularly indebted to Professor Hiroshi Niida (Adviser), Professor Kazutoshi Koshiro, Dean of Yokohama National University Faculty of Economics, and also to Shiro Yabushita, Yusuke Onitsuka, Satoru Kanoh, Akira Amakawa, T. Hirayama, Seiji Takezawa and Mitsuyoshi Yamada, all of them members of Yokohama National University.

I also received moral support and intellectual help from several other persons, whom I have met in Tokyo during my stay in Japan. In this respect, I am obliged to Kotaro Horisaka, Hajime Mizuno and Gustavo Andrade of the Ibero-American Institute of Sophia University, Hiroshi Watanabe (Tohoku University), K. Ugawa and Reginald Williams (Rikkyo University), Shigeru Suzuki (TUFL), Mitsuaki Okabe and Akio

Kuroda from the Institute of Monetary and Economic Studies of the Bank of Japan (Research Division I) and to T. Ishida of the Japan Foundation.

I am particularly grateful to the Department of Economics of the Faculty of Economics and Administration of the University of Sao Paulo for permitting me to engage in this new area of research and for granting me a prolonged leave of absence to initiate my studies and carry out part of the research activities abroad.

The contacts with Yokohama National University were made possible within an existing agreement between this institution and my University, co-ordinated since 1983 by Prof. Toshi-ichi Tachibana, from Brazil, and Dr. Seiji Takezawa from Japan.

The whole scheme only succeeded thanks to the good will of Rector Jose Goldemberg, from the University of Sao Paulo, and the hospitality of Prof. Toru Yokoyama and T. Ohta, Presidents of Yokohama National University.

No period of research in Japan can be fully profitable without a knowledge of the Japanese language, which may ease personal contacts and give access to limitless amounts of scholarly studies and press materials.

This ideal circumstance, unfortunately, did not materialize in my case, so that I had to rely on several institutions holding libraries in foreign languages in the Tokyo area.

Among these, the libraries at Sophia University in Yotsuya and Ichigaya, were outstanding and easily accessible.

The Ichigaya Campus Library of Sophia University holds one of the largest collections of books on Japanese studies in the areas of Economics and Social Sciences in Japan.

Visits to Tokyo University libraries and to the Japan Foundation Headquarters in Kojimachi were frequent, too, and they permitted me to precise the intended project.

I have also had access to the library of Research Division I of the Institute for Economic and Monetary Studies of the Bank of Japan, located in Nihonbashi, near Tokyo Station. This is a medium-sized library, with emphasis on economic and monetary studies, holding a large and increasing supply of books on Japan in foreign languages - English, French and German.

To carry out research in Japan is not easy, and support from Japanese colleagues may not be forthcoming for a number of reasons, among which shyness and the language barrier may be paramount. Also, Japanese Universities may not be as research-oriented as those of the West.

A considerable amount of research work, and publications of the kind a foreigner would feel attracted to, is carried out, not in the universities but at think-tank institutions linked to the ministries, unions, large corporations or the press.

Several initiatives though are now in course in Japan, which in the future may offer greater support to foreign scholars and students visiting the country.

Lodgings in Japan may be an additional problem for visitors. In my own case I was lucky to be able to live at the International House of the Yokohama National University, at an exceptionally low rent, and for quite a long period.

If a graduate student or researcher has to find a place to live outside the facilities of his university or research centre, he (or she) may run into difficulties of several kinds such as the lack of a suitable guarantor, the unwillingness of the Japanese to rent premises to foreigners, lack of social contacts, excessively high rents, distance and shortage of space in Japanese buildings.

Schooling for foreign children may entail extremely delicate problems such as rejection by class-mates, or considerable expense in special schools.

Food will present no problem to foreigners, except for its price. It is varied and of a very high quality, but as a rule Japan is not the ideal place for shopping.

CONTENTS OF THE PROJECT

The final results of this research are intended to become a publication on the Japanese economic system and its environment, purporting to offer an overview of the economic development of modern Japan and its main causes. The proposed contents are :

Preface

General Introduction

PART I - THE ECONOMY

Chapter 1 - Proem. The Nature of the Japanese Economy

Chapter 2 - The Geographical and Political Environment

2.1 - Japan in East Asia

Chapter 3 - The Japanese Homeland

3.1 - The Islands of Japan

3.2 - Population, Society, Government

Chapter 4 - The Economic Activities

4.1 - Agriculture

4.2 - Industry

4.3 - Terciary Activities

4.4 - The Foreign Trade Dependence

PART II - THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Chapter 5 - Proem. The Japanese Process of Economic Development

Chapter 6 - The Western Barbarians

6.1 - The Christian Century

6.2 - The Portuguese Legacy

Chapter 7 - Japan Rejects the West : Seclusion

7.1 - Tokugawa's Closed Rice Economy

7.2 - The Emergence of the Money Economy

Chapter 8 - Westernization and Imperialism

8.1 - Meiji's Economic and Cultural Revolutions

8.2 - Empire and Quest for Resources

Chapter 9 - World War II and Aftermath

9.1 - New Deal : The American Occupation

9.2 - From High Speed to Slow Growth

PART III - THE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Chapter 10 - Proem. The Sources of Japanese Post-War Development

Chapter 11 - Human Capital and Institutions

11.1 - Entrepreneurship and Technical Progess

11.2 - Employment System and Training

11.3 - Labour Force Quality

11.4 - Education

Chapter 12 - Economic Policies and Business Strategies

12.1 - The Role of Government

12.2 - Planning and Decision-Making

12.3 - Industrial Policies

12.4 - Managerial Systems

Chapter 13 - Financial and Monetary Policies

13.1 - The Financial System

13.2 - Monetary Policy

Chapter 14 - Constrained Development

14.1 - External Factors in the Economic Development of Japan

PART IV - THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

Chapter 15 - Proem. Japan in the Global Community

Chapter 16 - Japan and the Western Developed Economies

16.1 - The Japanese-American Relations

16.2 - Japan Versus Europe

Chapter 17 - Japan and the Giant Socialist Economies

17.1 - Japanese-Soviet Relations

17.2 - Japanese-Chinese Relations

Chapter 18 - Japan and the Developing Economies

18.1 - The Asian Newly Industrializing Economies

18.2 - Japan and the Middle East Economies

18.3 - The Japanese Strategies in Brazil

PART V - JAPAN AND HER FUTURE

Chapter 19 - Proem. Japan at the Opening of the New Era

Chapter 20 - Building a New Japan for the 21st Century

20.1 - Economic Maturity

20.2 - Internationalization

20.3 - The Ageing Society

Chapter 21 - Summing up and Conclusion

Notes and Bibliographical References

General Bibliography

Appendix : 'Economic Development in Japanese Economic and Managerial Thought : A Survey'

OBJECTIVES AND COMMENTS ON THE PROPOSED CONTENTS OF THIS RESEARCH

Perhaps one of the most embarrassing questions we can pose to someone intending to write about Japan is : what has he or she got to say that is new?

The embarrassment derives from the fact that as we become more involved in the bibliographical research and come into contact with the myriad of topics already discussed in the past, we cannot fail to experience a deep sense of superfluity and redundance in relation to our own proposed effort.

But books and days pass and are forgotten and life goes on. Certainly I will not be able to add anything of value to the already immense stock of information and interpretations, but even so, this effort aimed at facilitating an introduction to a growing field of social and economic research on Japan and her Asian connections, seemed justifiable because of its kind of scholarship being at present almost completely circumscribed to Europe and the US, and only in reference to the English language it is correct to say that there is already enough bibliography in this area.

Irrelevant as this effort may seem to an English-speaking public, I believe that its marginal effect will not fail to be of a little more consequence to a Brazilian or Latin American audience.

My intentions and purposes are not purely academic, however. The growing presence of Japan in the developing countries calls for a greater understanding of Japanese motivations and behaviour, and this growing relationship will require the preparation of quadres, who may be able to assess the real dimensions of the reciprocal interests.

There is a tendency today among the Japanese, to belittle the resource-rich developing countries which, notwithstanding, are targeted by resource-poor Japan as necessary economic partners.

In this connection, a clear understanding of the real nature of Japan's economic successes and of its position in the global community may help the establishment of more equitable relations between Japan and her world counterparts.

This study, furthermore, purports to be part of a wider project in the University of Sao Paulo, aimed at broadening the scope of work on Japan, through the creation of a Unit for Research and Documentation on the Japanese and Other East Asian Economies.

By its very nature, such a Unit would be multidisciplinary, and would serve as a suitable point of convergence for areas of academic endeavours now running parallel to each other, and in an isolated manner, as Economics, Geography, Political and Social Sciences.

It would also enlarge and deepen the importance of existing facilities for the teaching of the Japanese language.

As it happens in many other countries, the Centre for Japanese Studies of the University of Sao Paulo restricts its activities to running a course on the Japanese language and to carrying out publications in the realms of Japanese language and literature. The mobilization of these resources towards a social sciences oriented research unit on Japan does not seem a Utopian project today, and can serve to attract towards the University financial means now available for these purposes in many Japanese institutions, engaged in strengthening cultural relations with foreign countries.

This is mostly an economic study and therefore the research project is concerned with, and will mainly examine, a living economy and its relations with the major economic blocs in the world today.

The study is divided into five parts, and will seek to unravel the economic strategies and political processes involved in the growth of post-war Japan, in the context of the constraints posed by her geographical and international environments.

The objectives sought and the approaches to be adopted in each of the five parts are more broadly stated in the ensuing sections of this Project Outline.

COMMENTS : PART I - THE ECONOMY

This part will supply some geographical, social and historical information on Japan as a necessary and preliminary step for the understanding of her socio-economic structure and the mechanisms of her economic life.

It will examine the roles and characteristics of some institutions that share the effective control of the instruments and objectives of Japanese economic policy and political administration.

In the case of Japan, given the peculiarities of her geographical and social circumstances and historical evolution, considerations of Politics, History, Economics and Geography are inextricably linked, requiring an approach that facilitates the recourse to these fields of knowledge whenever necessary to elucidate the economic issues.

The basic assumption of the whole study is that Japan is an example of constrained development. The constraints under which the Japanese people labour are those represented by the geographical environment, which determines the country's limited endowment of economic resources and the consequent characteristics of their extremely open and dependent economy. Another constraint, often disregarded, is that posed by the peculiar social organization of this country, which restricts the free manipulation of instruments of economic policy, theoretically available, in the current implementation of programs related to the restructuring of markets and foreign trade imbalances.

Part I is highly descriptive and aims at providing some familiarity with the economic outlook of the country and its social processes. The Japan this part is concerned with is that as we know at the beginning of the Heisei Era (1989).

COMMENTS : PART II - THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In this part we will be focusing briefly on the Japanese economic development, since the arrival of the first "Western Barbarians", i.e. the Portuguese merchants, until the present reinsertion of the Japanese economy into the world economy, as a fully developed country.

Japanese economic development was not the result of theorizing or philosophizing, it was the plain result of an intelligent process of persistent implementation of national objectives, in geographical and social frameworks which imposed extremely limiting constraints to the economic and political alternatives of the country.

It is simply a process of national strengthening, which has been carried out in the last 150 years, in response to very pressing challenges, originating in an ever-changing economic and political world environment.

I date the origins of this process from the beginning of the Christian Century in Japan, which resulted from the pressures and final protrusion of two Western powers (Portugal and Spain) into the Asian realm, shortly followed by others.

The Seclusion, imposed on Japan after the Portuguese experience, and the ambivalence and vicissitudes of the Christian Century, represented a period of social, political and cultural reconstruction for the country, during which we see the enforcement of purely Japanese values. It was also a military stratagem that assured survival for Japan, through oblivion and inconspicuousness in a

particularly mercantilistic environment. Tokugawa Japan was an autarkic, but not a static economy or society. It experienced a steady process of development, through its 300 years of rule and was ready for a major revolution when the autarky was made to break by American military pressure, in the middle of the 19th century.

The Imperial reconstruction of Japan that ensued, was intended to cope with the new environment, into which the country had been plunged by the opening of its ports and the intrusion of foreign interests.

The adoption of Western technology and cultural traits were never intended as substitutes for deep Japanese values, inherited from the Tokugawa period. Japan became westernized, but remained faithful to her own self and soul.

The expansion of the Empire can be explained as a natural outgrowth of the new situation, into which Japan had been forced, and also as a consequence of the fidelity of the country to the principle of self-sufficiency, assiduously cultivated, since the beginning of the Tokugawa Shogunate until today.

From the last quarter of the 19th century until the First World War, Japan experienced an economic take-off and attained the maximum sphere of her territorial expansion, before the prodromes of World War II.

Unfortunately for themselves, the Japanese lacked the broadmindedness of the Romans, and their presence abroad took the form of a shallow economism engaged in a fierce economic exploitation of the conquered territories, without the acceptance of their aboriginal populations into full Japanese citizenship and brotherhood.

Economically, the expansion of the Japanese into the Mainland, at the expense of China, Korea and Russia, had a clear logic, as it could have solved the problem of the scarcity of resources, at the

same time as it could have secured for the Japanese economy, large potential markets for its products. The scheme was not different to that successfully followed by Britain, France, the Netherlands and Germany in the 19th and 20th centuries. That Japan could do it was merely a result of design, chance and good luck, enhanced by her geographical isolation from the centres of power in Western Europe.

The Second World War and its aftermath clearly represents a turning-point in Japanese history, but certainly not a rupture with her social past.

The American occupation just introduced a new constraint to the picture, this time democratic ideology.

Trying to shape a New Japan according to her own image, the US imposed her own political values on the Japanese.

Faithful to themselves, and schooled by their own historical experiences, the Japanese elite adapted the country to the new democratic scenario and they accordingly endeavoured to set up all the political institutions needed for the playing of full Western style democracy. Since then, the Kabuki-za and the Diet have been two of the most revered theatrical institutions in Japan...

The concept of democracy is absolutely irrelevant in Japan, for those actors who keep running the democratic play, for external effects, do not have direct influence on the real government of the country, which is in the hands of a tenured, highly educated and self-reproducing bureaucracy, solidary to, and closely associated with, the big business conglomerates, unions, religious sects, powerful pressure groups and political parties which depend on it.

The well-being of the country is identified with its economic successes, as shown by statistics, and the function of the bureaucratic apparatus is to guide and protect private business interests, inside the country as well as abroad. In Japan, we do not

encounter the damaging tug of war between bureaucrats and capitalists, which we are used to seeing in some developing countries and in countries with strong socialist leanings.

The Japanese bureaucracy, working in close association with the big business conglomerates, played a decisive role in shaping new alternatives for the economic development of Japan after World War II, in all the occasions of sensible international environmental changes, threatening to upset the major trends of the Japanese economy.

The American Occupation, after a brief period of perplexity, deliberately assumed an active role in the reconstruction of Japan. The present Japanese bureaucracy stems directly from the planning bodies set up by the Americans, which incorporated not negligible amounts of brain-power and experience from pre-war Japan.

COMMENTS : PART III - THE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

In Part III we will examine the sources of the Japanese post-war development. In other words, we will be focusing our attention on some of Japan's major economic development policies during the last 50 years.

Given the strong solidarity between the public and private sectors, the economic development of Japan owes a considerable part of its success to the co-ordinated responses of her industrialists and bureaucrats to the challenges facing their country.

The general social attitude towards the reconstruction and development effort was paramount for Japan's achievements.

Therefore, in selecting factors that could be considered as active in the promotion of the economic rebirth of the Japanese economy, we have to consider not only the appropriateness of the country's major macro-economic policies, and the cleverness of the

institutions that carried them out, but also the entrepreneurial and labour aspects of the economy in this period. In the Japanese case, the industrial policies and the business strategies, including an adequate system of training on the job and employment arrangements suitable to the enhancement of human capital, must be given as much weight as that given to the role played by the government.

The strict control of the educational system's performance, aiming at conformity and social discipline, in the best tradition of the Japanese people, can be singled out as the major social policy of the government. Japan as we know it has continually been generated in its educational system, although education in this country does not cease at graduation, but rather starts after it , on the job.

Whatever the merits of the Japanese internal arrangements, which helped to assure the economic accomplishments of the country after its complete shattering in the Second World War, the external factors that made possible the upsurge of the post-war economy must be given special place.

In this connection, the American alliance and the maintainance of a relatively free trade environment, during the Japanese growth period, are the main external factors to be reckoned with in the recent economic development of Japan.

COMMENTS : PART IV - THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

The continuation of the Japanese economic performance in the future is dependent on the maintainance of a favourable international environment.

The increasing of the economic and trade frictions with the US, and a few other major structural changes in the World economy, such as the formation of regional economic blocs, may pose a challenge to Japan's present success.

The danger gets some shade of acuteness when we consider that, basically, all the economic efforts of Japan are aimed at the US, which the Japanese like to consider as a decaying society and an ailing economy.

This is certainly not the case, however, and the US is the one country capable of giving a profound shock to the Japanese economy simply by adopting some internal policy objectives aimed at reestablishing, even if partially, the country's self-sufficiency or reducing financial imbalances.

The fragility of Japan's position could, however, be repaired through a better insertion of this country into the world economy.

Given the present state of affairs, fully satisfactory to them, the Japanese are neglecting the establishment of better links with other important World regions that could work as a cushion for a possible deterioration of Japan's position vis-a-vis the US.

Therefore, Part IV of our study will concentrate on the examination of the present state and motivations of the Japanese economic and political relations with the capitalist, Soviet and developing nations.

As a rule, the Japanese are biased towards the rich and developed countries, and failing to create a broader sphere of understanding with the developing countries and the Socialist bloc.

The peculiar structure of the Japanese government, while adequate for the purposes of internal administration and support for their thriving industries, does not reveal particular foresightedness in the international front. The Japanese seem to fear direct bilateral arrangements with foreign countries and apparently prefer to sit safely behind the facades of international organizations, and subscribe to collective decisions.

This area is that in which the present Japanese behaviour shows itself completely inadequate to their prominence in the economic

field.

It is disheartening to perceive that outside the areas of advanced technology, developed by private industries for strictly profit purposes, the Japanese as a nation, are not prepared to offer any kind of leadership to the world.

The effort of the Japanese foreign relations seems to be simply that of assuring a continual access for Japan to the economic resources needed by her industries. This narrow approach damages immensely the international image of the country.

The growth of Japan to the status of a major economic superpower poses the problem of her relations with both the developed and the under-developed or developing countries.

This part will examine the main postures adopted by Japan towards each group of nations.

It will also focus on the reactions which the impact of her recent economic success is causing on the world political scene and economic environment.

This study postulates an increasing of the Japanese ties with the Third World and the Socialist Bloc, as a means to lessen her pressures on the markets of the developed countries, at the same time as new opportunities could be fostered with the strengthening of these two under-developed groups of nations, through Japanese investments and technical cooperation.

COMMENTS : PART V - JAPAN AND HER FUTURE

At the beginning of a new era, Japan is facing and pondering problems which will affect her future development and world status.

This concluding part of our study, accordingly concentrates on the examination of a few main questions now facing Japan at the beginning of the Heisei Era and at the close of the 20th century.

Three major problems are now being tackled in Japan by her planning bodies and are being addressed by her intellectuals and social scientists :

1 The achievement of maturity by the economic system : That means the pains and pangs of growth are over, and the country must be concerned with, and prepare for, the economic diseases associated with excess capacity, foreign competition in traditional sectors, depopulation of rural areas, excessive urbanization, deterioration of the environment, and appropriate social management for a number of huge megalopolis.

The fabric of the social equilibrium in Japan is closely linked to its economic successes. Trade frictions are a menace to the continuation of the present happy state of affairs.

The inadequate insertion of Japan into the World economy aggravates the problem of the trade imbalances with the developed countries, because it enhances the viability of external economic sanctions and political blackmail.

2 The effort at internationalization : This is a problem related to increasing the participation of the Japanese in World affairs. It implies an effort at the education level, in order to prepare the nation to accept and become able to carry out new roles in the international scene. It also implicates serious internal economic restructuring.

3 The ageing of the Japanese population : At present, the proportion of young people in the Japanese population is comparable to that of other developed countries, but given the existing demographic trends, and the enhancement of

living conditions and medical resources, Japan's population is expected to experience an accellerated process of ageing in the next three decades.

This is a particularly worrying problem for Japanese society and planning bodies. The recent consumption tax (1989) of 3% imposed on the nation, is the first of a series of schemes that will be devised to cope with the increasing social burden associated with an ageing population.

The disastrous political consequences of the tax for the ruling LDP shows that when properly briefed the Japanese population can react against additional sacrifices. Conformity seems to be on the wane.

The management of social problems in the future will pose considerable stress on the authorities and politicians.

4 The opening of Japanese markets, the admission of foreign workers, the restructuring of agriculture, the housing problem, and the price of land in Japan are all issues which will require considerable skill from Japanese society in the future.

What Japan will or will not do, will be dictated by the challenge itself and by the unfailing capacity to cope with problems which the Japanese have been displaying for the last 500 years of their remarkable history.

RESEARCH PROJECT OUTLINE :

PRELIMINARY DRAFT STUDIES.

THE JAPANESE ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND ITS ENVIRONMENT.

A STUDY ON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN AND ITS MAIN CAUSES.

(Prof. Dr. Darcy Carvalho)

PART I - THE ECONOMY

1 'The geographical and political environments of Japan in East Asia.'

2 'An economic profile of the Japanese homeland.'

3 'The nature of the Japanese economic system.'

4 'Population, society and government in Japan.'

5 'Agriculture inside the Japanese economy.'

6 'The role of industry in the Japanese open economy.'

7 'Terciary economic activities in the Japanese economy.'

8 'The Foreign trade dependence of the Japanese economy.'

PART II - THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

9 'The Japanese process of economic development.'

10 'The Japanese Christian century and the Portuguese legacy to Japan.'

11 'Tokugawa's closed rice economy.'

12 'The emergence of a money economy in Tokugawa's Japan.'

13 "Westernization and imperialism in Japan.'

14 'Japan's age of enlightenment : The Meiji's economic and cultural revolutions.'

15 'Empire and quest for resources in contemporary Japan.'

16 'The New Deal character of the economic and political policies of the American occupation in Japan.'

17 'The economic development of post-war Japan : From high speed to slow growth.'

PART III - THE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

18 'Sources of the Japanese post-war economic thrust.'

19 'Human capital and social institutions as development sources in Japan.'

20 'Entrepreneurship and technical progress as development factors in Japan.'

21 'The employment system and on job training as human capital enhancers in Japan.'

22 'Education and labour force quality in Japan.'

23 'Economic policies, economic planning and the government's roles in the economic development of Japan.'

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'THE JAPANESE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT : A PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW'

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ABSTRACT : This paper proposes a particular chronological dividion for the study of the Japanese evolution from an economic point of view. It suggests the hypothesis that the economic development of Japan, in the past as well as in the present, derives from adequate answers to extremely constraining environmental conditions, both physical and political, as well as social ones.

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'THE JAPANESE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT : A PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW'

A chronological division of the historical existence of any country will always be a matter of controversy among the learned, but it remains, nonetheless, an indispensable device for those just striving to locate and aiming only at evidencing the major trends and turning-points of the Japanese economic, political and social evolution, from a narrow pragmatic perspective.

For our limited purposes, therefore, the social and economic development of the Japanese people will be simply understood as a gradual process of demographical growth accompanied by a continual improvement of the material well-being of the whole of the population. The success of such a process implies certainly definite means, policies, and instruments of economic and political organization for the achievement of an increasing control over the internal and international environments of the nation, and the appropriate management of the available resources, for competing ends.

The economic development of Japan, understood in this very broad sense, can be divided, for convenience, into three major periods or phases of an unequal historical duration, presenting each of them highly diverse significance for the history of the outside world.

The first phase of the Japanese historical evolution, which we will label 'THE PROTO-HISTORIC PERIOD OF JAPAN', comprises the cultural facts and the social, political and economic institutions of the peoples inhabiting the archipelago, since the most remote eras until the seventh century A.D, which marks the birth of a proto-Japanese state, during the so-called Yamato Age (300 A.D - 600 A.D).

Japanese scholars would date this long period from circa 150,000

B.C. when some evidences of a pre-ceramic culture can already be traced on the Isles, until 660 A.D. a date consuetudinarily accepted in Japan as that of the accession of the Emperor Jimmu, the first emperor, whose actual historicity can be established, problematically at least, from the most anciently standing written records, or from the old and deep-rooted Shinto religious traditions.

After Jimmu, until the present, follows an unbroken line of Japanese emperors who, in their highly sacerdotal functions stood comparison with the Roman emperors, and even shared with their Western colleagues, until recently, the high status of living deities. The deification of a ruler is not alien to the traditions of, or present usage in, some other Asiatic nations, and certainly not completely foreign to the great monotheistic religions in the West, with their extensive lines of prophets, saints, patriarchs, apostles, popes, rabbis, imams and other holy persons.

The second phase, 'THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE', an extremely rich period in both cultural and local political events, extends from the seventh century A.D. to the sixteenth, more precisely from 660 to 1500 A.D.

The consolidation of the Japanese nation, therefore, roughly occurs along some 850 years, during which we can observe the strengthening of the new-born Japanese State, and the gradual spread of its hegemony over the surrounding islands, to the North of Kyushu.

The territorial conquest and occupation of the Japanese Archipelago was not fully achieved though, by the time of the great geographical discoveries of the Europeans, which would be followed shortly by the military and economic inroads of the Portuguese and Spaniards on America, Asia and Africa, in a frenzied drive of mercantilistic expansion that Japan herself was bound to experience, from 1542 onwards.

From a Japanese stand-point the period of consolidation of their nation can be related to six well defined eras or ages : 1. The Nara Age (710-787 A.D.), 2. The Heian Age (794-1185 A.D.), 3. The Fujiwara Age (858-1160 A.D.), 4. the Kamakura Age (1185-1333 A.D.), 5. The Ashikaga Age or Muromachi Age (1338-1572), and 6. The Azuchi-Momoyama Age (1568-1600), which we will consider inside our third phase.

The third phase, or 'THE MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF JAPAN' runs parallel with the modern history and contemporaneous events of the countries of Europe, and by the same token, with that of the infant nations planted on the soil of the American Continent, by its first discoverers and succeeding conquerors : the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the British, the French and the Dutch.

This third phase, from a Japanese chronological point of view, can be divided into five historical segments of a very unequal duration.

First, a period never named like that by the Japanese, but which could be called the Christian Age (1547-1647), covering the whole of the Azuchi-Momoyama Age, then the Tokugawa or Edo Age (1600-1868), the Meiji Age (1868-1912), the Taisho Age (1912-1926), and finally the Showa Age (1926-1989), just concluded.

In these modern and contemporary periods, a phase comprising almost five centuries of world history, are to be found the seeds of the present material achievements of the Japanese people, the proximate origins of their cultural idiosyncracies, the foundations of their present social behaviour, and also the clues for simpler explanations about the collective processes involved in the economic growth strategies employed by Japan in the last hundred years, in order to overcome her economic underdevelopment, catch up with the Western economies, and finally accomplish the conquest of a distinguished place among the economic giants of the Twentieth

century.

This historical period, paradoxically, begins with the rejection and violent eviction of a potentially powerful and disrupting Western presence, represented by the Portuguese commercial interests and the Christian enclaves in Kyushu.

The suppressing of the Christians was immediately followed by a tight closure of the country to the Japanese living abroad and to all foreigners, the Dutch and the Chinese in part excepted, for the ensuing 250 years.

The re-opening of the Isles of Japan to international life under the pressures of the American expanding imperialism in the Pacific, awakened Japan to the helplessness of her position vis-a-vis the technological superiority of her new and self-imposed economic partners.

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The realization of their inferiority taught the Japanese the necessity of changing in order to cope with the new challenges confronting them. It led to the adoption of a few long-term state policies that in due time would flourish as a huge but short-lived empire, in the Asia-Pacific region, the prelude and invitation for the country's complete shattering in World War II.

Westernization and modernization, the much coveted goals of the Japanese think-tankers, since the Meiji Revolution, were finally accomplished, after the Pacific War, with the help and commitment of the American Occupation. Japan kept improving, since then, under the umbrella of a strategic and economic association with the U.S. one that guaranteed her gradual reinsertion into the broad arena of the international exchanges, as a highly developed economy, and reliable partner sharing some Western political ideals.

During the last five centuries, a very crucial period for their country, the Japanese changed their methods, policies and instruments, but not the long-term goals and objectives of the nation, readily

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translatable into a perennial quest for security and economic self-sufficiency. This historical drive to autarky can be seen as an unavoidable recourse to cope with their deep sense of being endowed by Nature with insufficient land and little of other economic resources. And besides, they learned to represent themselves as a unique people, encircled by a culturally alien international community, generally described as unstable and potentially hostile to them. The Japanese suffer from an incurable delusion of siege.

In the study of 'THE MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF JAPAN' our objective should be, therefore, to describe briefly the economic development of the Japanese Islands since the beginning of trade relations with Portugal and the introduction of Christianity, that is to say, we should be outlining the main characteristics of this development process from the so-called Christian Century in Japan (1547-1647) until the death of Emperor Showa on January 8th, 1989.

The economic development of the Japanese Isles can be understood, like that of any other nation, as a perennial struggle for security and self-sufficiency.

This effort for national strengthening has been carried out in response to pressing challenges originating in an ever-changing economic and political world environment.

More than the result of autonomous motives, the process of the Japanese economic development and its strategies may be explained as last resorts undertaken to conciliate Japan's own national objectives with the overwhelming external constraints posed by the menacing protrusion of the Western powers into the Asian realm, since the occurrence of the Portuguese and Spanish discoveries, five centuries ago.

From the arrival of the Christian missionaries, closely

associated with the Portuguese expansion into Eastern Asia, until the occupation of the Archipelago by the American troops in the middle of this century, the evolvement of the economic development of Japan presents a striking alternance of periods of acceptance and communion with the West, followed by periods of strife, conflict and rejection.

The ambivalence of the Western attitudes towards Japan has not changed though, along these five centuries of cultural and economic intercourse.

During this long period, there have been three major inroads of the Western nations into Japan's life, followed by painful efforts on the Japanese side to redress the disturbed equilibrium, and also to secure better conditions for the continuance of the country's security in the future.

The arrival of the Lusitanian traders and the century-long contact between Portugal and Japan brought about a lasting change in the way the Japanese envisaged themselves and their position in the international community.

The rejection of the proposed Christian model and its aftermath, the establishment of an economic autarky, under the Tokugawa shogunate, offer the prototype of a process of self-reconstruction the Japanese would repeat twice more in the course of their modern evolution as an independent island nation.

After the gradual dissolution of the almost three-centuries-long economic autarky, set up by the Tokugawa Regime, Japan opened her ports and embarked on a frenzy of changes, affecting the country's social, cultural and economic framework.

The opening of the Japanese markets under the pressures of the US and other interested Western nations, was perceived as a humiliation imposed on the Japanese nation.

Lacking the necessary means to avoid the commercial advances of

the Western powers, and fearing to become an easy prey to their economic interests, the Japanese reaction was quite appropriate to the circumstances.

The Meiji's economic and cultural revolutions, carried out by the same factions that verberated the alleged weakness of the Tokugawa in confronting the external challenges, is a magnificent example of the adaptability of Japan to environmental changes affecting her national security and way of life.

The West has never been prepared to grant to the Japanese an adequate status in the concert of nations.

The so-called Japanese imperialism, characterized by an attempt at increasing the nation's availability of resources through territorial expansion, a task facilitated by an unexpected constellation of favourable circumstances, occurring in the context of the European imperial rivalries, may be considered as a natural response to the studied policies of contention, applied against Japan by the West during her critical period of economic take-off, before 1945.

The Pacific War, as the Asian chapter of World War II is called in Japan, and its aftermath, the American occupation, may be considered as the most recent of this five-centuries-long experience of forced accommodations imposed on this island country by materially superior foreign powers.

The profound changes in the social and political spheres of Japanese life, as an imposition of the model and brief American occupation, had the same effects and provoked the same conscious efforts towards adaptation to the unavoidable which had already been observed twice, on an even grander scale, in the past history of Japan.

In this new instance, the price paid by the Japanese was that of

accepting a type of security alliance and economic marriage with the US. that practically robbed their country of the possibility of exercising an independent foreign policy. In this respect, Japan is virtually a colony of the US.

To counterbalance this limitation, which derives from her acceptance of the role of a suitable basis for the American Cold War schemes in Eastern Asia, Japan has been skillfully adopting the fostering of her own economic supremacy as the nation's sole aim on the present international stage.

The general uneasiness felt by the developed world in face of the great economic successes of Japan, and the measures actually adopted or suggested as necessary or appropriate to contain Japan's further economic advance, at international meetings, remind us of stories already told, and of games already played in the past against the alleged Japanese expansionism.

The process of the economic development of Japan, therefore, presents the unusual characteristic of being the result of conscious compensating and adaptive responses to a changing world environment, which at times confronted the country with overwhelming challenges, to which she has been forced to acquiesce and from which she has been clever enough to profit beyond measure.

The ambivalence of attitudes prevailing in the West in relation to Japan manifests itself in the fact that, in censuring her new economic internationalism, no allowance is made for the special and co-operative relationship she is expected to keep to the Western developed countries, a damaging one to Japan in the long run.

Pressures on Japan to share the burden of the costs of maintainance of the existing development agencies often disregard the fact that inside Japan the standard of living of the Japanese people is considerably at variance with her external image as an advanced and prosperous

country. These contradictions, posed by a rich country with a relatively poor and frugal people, find their explanation in the extremely close links between economy and society in Japan, and in the primacy of groups, factions and corporations over individual human beings. The economic development of Japan should be envisaged also as a description of the flourishing of an extremely cohesive and resilient society, always reluctant to let itself plunge and dissolve into the general mainstream of the world's evolution. The real miracle of Japan consists in her dauntless capacity for survival and in her unbroken fidelity to her own self.

The strong group cohesion exhibited by the Japanese, and their adherence to long-term national goals, seem to be the key explanation to many of the idiosyncracies of the rapid thrust of economic development in modern Japan.

At all stages of her national history this country was seen to exhibit a striking group solidarity, which simplified the acceptance of common patterns of behaviour in the pursuit of collective aims. Another trait of Japanese society, which facilitated its remarkable development, is its capacity to fully abide by established collective norms.

After the Christian experience which came short of plainly dissolving the traditional fabric of the Japanese social organization, the resumption of the traditional ways, through violent means and relentless repression of the foreign values and beliefs, reestablished the cohesiveness of the national society and facilitated the enforcement of an economic autarky and its cultural isolacionism as the valid goals for Japan in the ensuing 300 years.

This prolonged period has seen the cohesion of the group extended and translated into the idea of a family-state, kept together through the worship of the nation's ancestors, and the subordination

of all Japanese families to the Imperial family, regarded as the original stock of the entire people.

This sense of belonging to a special kin still permeates the minds of the present day Japanese, and it explains many attitudes hard to understand by foreigners who may be unaware of the very peculiar and profound racial nationalism which characterizes the social, economic and political fabric of Japan.

The Japanese endeavours to achieve economic development, for the sake of national independence and security, has always been characterized by a wholehearted pursuit of clearly stated collective long-term goals. The bundle of goals that have been set by the Japanese for themselves in the last hundred and fifty years have not changed and can be suitably translated as a single-minded effort to catch up with, and surpass, the West.

The Meiji Revolution, the imperial expansion towards the islands of the South Pacific or into Mainland Asia, the relentless economic competition with the industrialized nations, in our own time, after World War II, are all merely steps or devices attempted as useful for the achievement of self-sufficiency and economic independence.

Having succeeded materially, Japan is now confronted with the task of maintaining her accomplishments and present economic status. As these were attained thanks to especially favourable world environmental conditions created by the ideological dichotomy which characterized the second half of the Twentieth century, she faces today new challenges posed by the thaw of the Cold War's artificial barriers, erected against the Socialist Bloc and by the mounting reactions of the developed countries against an already tangible Japanese economic hegemony. Notwithstanding the permanence of some of the favourable conditions that made it possible, Japan's present success may not be maintained in the future.

The challenge now facing the country is that of harmonizing its powerful economic fabric with the aims and needs of developed and developing nations, upon which she will always depend, both for the import of resources for production and for the export of finished and high-technology goods.

The development of Japan up to the present can be explained as the result of her deep historical involvement with the United States, even more so after the end of the Pacific War.

This relationship on the economic side benefited from, and has been conditioned to, the political strategy of the US. regarding Asia and the Socialist Bloc, in the general framework of the Cold War equilibria.

But the events and the winds of political change blowing upon the Soviet Bloc, the reunification of Europe, and the economic dilemmas facing the US may pose a completely new economic and political environment for the Japanese economy in the following decades.

The basic characteristic of this country, that of being a major but dependent economy in the world, will become more acute, requiring restructuring and readaptation that may permit the successful continuation of this remarkable case of constrained development.

'NEW ROLES FOR JAPAN IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA'

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ABSTRACT : This paper purports to study some aspects of the Brazilian-Japanese relations in the post-war years and to point out a few roles Japan could play in the economic development of Latin America. The argument centers on the idea that the economic position of Japan in the world economy today is imperiled by her inadequate insertion into the global economy. A safer long run situation could be fostered, if the economic drive of the Japanese were diverted towards developing, or neglected, areas such as the Southern parts of the American Continent and the Soviet Bloc.

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'NEW ROLES FOR JAPAN IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA'

Latin America as a geographical expression includes both Brazil and almost one score of Spanish-speaking countries in Central and in South America.

This is a vast and young region, extending from Mexico, close to the United States, to Argentina and Chile, whose southern-most islands face the huge icy continent of Antarctica.

As defined, the concept excludes the English, Dutch and French-speaking small nations located around the Caribbean Sea, and in Central America.

Latin America is strategically placed between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, facing Western Africa and the Far East.

Actually, this is one of the most isolated regions of the world, with a highly disadvantageous location, in relation to today's present distribution of advanced economic and commercial poles.

Historically and culturally, the countries of this region are linked to Europe, as former colonies of Portugal, Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Britain. Some of the nations in Latin America are also ethnically associated with Germany and Italy, through vast contingents of immigrants, who arrived before World War II and since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Brazil, the influx of European immigrants increased considerably after the abolition of the slave system, in 1888, and they have been directed towards the expanding coffee producing regions in the south eastern states or towards the deep south of the country, where small farming and cattle raising prevailed.

Everywhere in Latin America, with the exception of Brazil, Asian peoples contributed very little to the ethnic mix of the region. But

International Law will help to create an international system in which any big country may feel allowed to earmark at pleasure areas of influence on the globe, in order to enhance its economic, commercial or ideological goals or whims.

The admiration for, and the confidence of Latin Americans in, the United States are being rapidly eroded by the erratic behaviour and absolute lack of consistency and coherence of the U.S. in her relations with the major as well as the minor countries in our region.

The neglect of the economic interests of the American Continent by the U.S. excessively and obstinately involved with Asia and European defense, and her inability to deal politically with the region, a consequence of her poorly devised continental strategy, are definitively alienating the Latin American countries from this shallow, ineffectual and reticent alliance.

As a matter of fact, this steady process of estrangement can be seen as part of a general political transformation of the world today. Several variables are involved in this process.

The crisis now ravaging the Socialist Bloc, from Central Europe to China, and the straining, followed by decline, of the U.S. in the world politically, culturally and economically, are two important sets of factors conditioning the future paths of Latin America.

The simultaneous demise of the Soviet and American dreams in the hearts of so many Latin Americans may facilitate the reassumption of our own historical evolution, free from imported panaceas, devoid of political illusions, and disparaged of unreliable friends.

Two other structural transformations in the global scenario today must be mentioned also as crucial external factors helping to mould a new world economic and political environment, in which Latin America will have to seek her own best path.

The rise of Japan as a new economic and financial giant is the

first of these world structural transformations ; the second one is the economic unification of Europe into a single market, as a prelude to the reunification of that Continent and a rebirth of its cultural, economic and political influence on the world.

We must attribute equal and maximum importance to both of these developments, which definitively close the aftermath of World War II.

The economic rebirth of Japan has exerted a strong demonstration effect on neighbouring Asia, and the Japanese have been instrumental in kindling the aspirations of the new industrializing countries of the Pacific Basin and elsewhere.

By the same token, it is possible to argue that Japan, albeit unwillingly, has been instrumental in accellerating the economic integration of Europe.

The excessive involvement of the U.S. in Asia and the key role played by Japan in these adventures, as a necessary stepping stone towards the Mainland, and as a direct beneficiary of the war industrial demand, have had an unexpected but sallutory effect on Europe.

It is undeniable that in this century the U.S. joined hands with the Soviet Union in order to accellerate the final withdrawal of the European economic and political influence from Asia, the Middle East and Africa, at the same time as America was extending many privileges to Japan, such as free access to her markets, generous technology transfers, and every other possible means for the reconstruction of the shattered Japanese economy.

No wonder then that Europe felt herself hurt simultaneously by the contraction of her areas of economic influence as well as by the special treatment accorded to Japan who, from the status of execrated enemy voted to extinction, was rapidly promoted to the enviable position of indispensible ally, overall supplier and complying banker to the United States.

But Europe is finding her way back, and the Europeans are blessed with a strong memory and a deep sense of history. Thus Japan can boast of playing an indirect part in the redressing of Western Europe. The total integration of that Continent, by the increasing of relations with Central Europe, and the reunification of nations still divided, is just a question of time, a short time indeed. Perhaps we can say that Japan will never have in Europe the same economic opportunities she has had in the U.S. for the very obvious reasons that here Japan is perceived more as a ruthless competitor than as an indispensible ally.

Even the U.S. feels thrilled by the growth of a new Europe at a time she has to come to grips with a new Japan, and the mushrooming growth of Japanese business among the American industrial and financial enterprises.

The U.S. will continue to take sanctions and formulate other kinds of pressure to keep Japan within appropriate limits inside her industrial sectors and in the consumer markets. These measures are voted and adopted in an unpredictable way. It helps to keep Japan in a kind of siege and psychological stress. A yellow-danger climate is easily created to justify changes in the rules of the economic game.

Therefore the advancement of Japan into the American economy is not yet a natural and unavoidable phenomenon. The Americans can stop it when it pleases them to do so, and Europe can do the same if she so decides.

We can infer from the preceding considerations that the happy marriage of Japan with the advanced world is far from being accomplished and that the menace of a sudden divorce is ever present, at the will of the European and the American partners.

Thus it is sensible to try to find a different pattern for the insertion of Japan into the world, one that should be based on

consensus and reciprocal long-term interests. This extension of the Japanese economic basis world-wide must be looked for elsewhere, in Asia or in Latin America.

Two other areas could be proposed also, the Socialist Bloc and Africa, as suitable targets for the expansion of the Japanese economic connections in the world.

Despite her proximity, Asia, seen from Japan, seems a quite different and complex entity, and in fact the recent memories of the failed attempts of the Japanese to expand their territory and economic resources, at the expenses of the Mainland countries, still poison Asian-Japanese relations. The cultural and linguistic complexity of the region, and the nature of the development being sought by the new industrializing countries who already pose a sensible menace to traditional sectors of Japanese industry, makes it not so easy an association which, at first sight, could seem unavoidable and desirable.

Latin America appears in this world context as a solitary region, with a vast natural endowment of economic resources, expanding human crowds, a European frame of mind, and an environment still undeteriorated by aggressive industrial development. The region is mature to launch a decisive development effort for which the help of the U.S., Europe and Japan is indispensable.

The U.S. though, has not yet recovered from her mania of playing the role of policeman of the world, in detriment to her own domestic tasks and urgent problems, and none can foresee the end of such self-crippling behaviour.

Europe is regrouping before resuming its proper place in the world. Japan, therefore, has a wonderful opportunity to take the lead and start the construction of lasting ties with Latin America, as much a member of the Pacific-Rim as any of those countries already recognized as lucky partners of this thriving community.

The intensity and extension of the involvement of Japan in the economic development of Brazil is not particularly striking at present and surely there is much room for deepening this participation and giving to it a continental dimension.

Latin America must seek development for the sake of her own inhabitants, a huge potential market for goods and services of about 300 million people, 140 million in Brazil alone.

The isolation of the region does not favour it as a mere spring-board for exports to the outside world, while its complex topographical characteristics do not facilitate the economic integration of the Continent, necessitating huge investments in roads, railroads and in the development of its rivers as sources of food, energy, as well as transport of goods and people.

Despite the unity of language, illiteracy is widespread and hard to combat due to the low density of the population in the vast territory.

In Brazil the high rate of urbanization will permit a better equationing of the education problem, which at the moment is in complete chaos out of the over-straining of the existing personnel and facilities.

Food, health, education, transport energy and employment are the main priorities of the region. Any foreign aid which disregards these basic human realities will fail to accomplish a positive role in the region.

The Continent as a whole lacks investments aimed at improving the qualities of its human resources.

Brazil has, in the last 25 years, managed to create an appropriate material infrastructure, but has neglected to prepare herself to cope with the social responsibilities associated with development and accellerated urbanization.

In examining some of the characteristics of the Japanese economic strategies towards the developing countries of Latin America no-one can fail to realize that the role of Japan in the economic development of the region in this century has been modest indeed, even in Brazil.

The efforts of the Brazilians to overcome the underdeveloped status of their country since 1930, have, as is well known, deadlocked in a debt crisis.

At the same time, the nation faces a critical decision in the 1989 elections. The delicate economic and political scenarios in Brazil require some circumspection from the outside world. This certainly is not the moment for political pressure and economic sanctions.

Our historical experience can easily demonstrate that new roles for Japan in the Third World must be found in an increase in her bilateral commitments rather than in the extension of her identification with, or support of, international agencies, engaged in promoting economic development world-wide, according to the old praxis and the sclerotic instruments established in the aftermath of World War II.

Countries that have been following the prescriptions of these so-called developmental institutions are now entangled in insoluble debt, and on the brink of social chaos.

We are not facing just a debt crisis, just a financial deadlock, but rather the collapse of a system of international cooperation which has lost its validity and its justification, in consequence of its ineptitude.

One of the main roles for Japan on behalf of the developing countries could be that of causing a complete reform, or at least a partial reconstruction of, this ailing system. There is no point in

Japan's asking for more voice in institutions as the IMF which sanction, by doing nothing, the present ordeal of the Third World, submitted to one of the most efficient system of economic exploitation ever devised, that centred on the growing interest rates of the international financial system. The debt crisis of the developing nations has an immediate and distressing social dimension, as can be easily inferred.

The essence of the concept of development is that it concerns the improvement of the life conditions of human beings. No country in the Third World at present is able to service its huge debt and also improve the material conditions of its people, especially that of the lower orders of its population. It means that development has collapsed in practice.

The explosion of illegal drug production in the Third World, for export to the developed countries, reveals an extraordinary distortion in the economic priorities of the international community. It just means that the production of food, the extraction of mineral ores, the manufacture of useful products to meet the necessities of people are no longer attractive activities. Drug production and financial gambling are now erected as the main activities in many Third World countries. The corollary of this is widespread unemployment, squalor, prostitution, crime, and also general international insecurity.

The Japanese have, at the present moment, some means and the proper circumstances to achieve a few basic corrections in the world system for the simple reason that Japan is being called upon to share the costs of its ineffectiveness.

On November 15, 1989, the Federal Republic of Brazil will commemorate its first hundred years. Proclaimed and organized according to the American model, the Brazilian Republican system, despite its hardships, may be allowed to claim success both in the

social and in the economic field. Everything relevant to explain Brazil's present, and to predict her possible course in the future, has happened, has been established or has been constructed within these short hundred years.

Therefore, in appraising Brazil as an economic partner, now struggling with her growth dilemmas and the mental stresses associated with a juvenile age, Japan has to consider that Brazil is the only Latin American country that has been able to achieve a relatively well balanced economic take-off, and the only one capable of henceforward carrying out her own development design alone, albeit with difficulty, if deserted by the international community.

As a matter of fact, the history of Brazil shows we have been a lonely people that could survive and maintain our historical continuity only thanks to our economic and political inconspicuousness and geographical isolation.

Brazil is among a select number of nations that can claim self-sufficiency in almost all of the relevant economic resources except oil. But even this painful deficiency could be considerably reduced, or even eliminated, by re-establishing and amplifying our railroad system and by eliminating the car as an indispensible individual means of transport in our large cities. Japan can be taken as a suitable model for our future steps towards the rationalization of transport in urban areas, and in the country at large.

The oil deficiency in Brazil has already been partially corrected by increasing off-shore oil production and by the use of alcohol, obtained from sugar cane, as fuel. This last procedure cannot, however, cope with too large a demand and it proved to be extremely harmful for the environment, both for the river systems and the alternative agricultural pursuits, as well as for the atmosphere, especially during harvest time. Alcohol, as a commodity, is highly

subsidized at present and encroaches on the most productive and best located farmlands of the country, therefore reducing the production of food around the large cities in Brazil. It follows that the solution to fuel scarcity in this country is to be found rather in the curtailment of demand than in the extension of supply. This of course presupposes heavy investment in alternative means of transportation.

Of course the oil question in Brazil is the most crucial, the source of the present debt crisis, and is also responsible in no small measure for the unmanageable inflationary pressures and social unrest. But our present economic crisis, this new turning point in our economic history, is just another casualty among those of the many development cycles that we have been experiencing since the birth of the country, after the year 1500 of the Christian era.

Brazil as a nation did not result from the conquest of one established civilization by another, as it was often the case in Asia and Africa, or in Mexico, Peru and Bolivia.

The territory of Brazil, ascribed to Portugal by the Pope at the end of the fifteenth century, after the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, was slowly occupied by the Portuguese themselves, from the periphery of the land to its core, from about 1530 to the present time. The inauguration of the new capital Brasilia, in 1960, in the heartland of the Continent, and the present day inroads on the outskirts of the Amazon rain-forest, by the present day Brazilians, are just the continuation of a process of colonization five centuries old.

Brazilians, like the Canadians, Soviets and Australians, can expand their living space and economic activities without having to encroach on any of their neighbours.

As the Brazilian economy advances towards the heart of the south American Continent, exports from these new regions to the outside

world become increasingly difficult, due to our inappropriate solution to the transport system, which underutilizes railroads in a continental-sized country. Therefore the integration of the Brazilian economy with those of the other Latin American countries facing the Pacific Ocean, and now economically closer and closer to us, becomes inevitable and it will be an event with important historical consequences for the whole continent.

Like the American economy today, the Brazilian economy in the next century will be equally attracted by the Pacific, towards which we are now moving, and by the Atlantic, which will not be hollowed of its economic importance, thanks to the new renaissance of Europe, and the joint economic development of Western Africa and Latin America.

The relations between Brazil and Africa are historical and will become of a size and importance compatible with the simultaneous development process of Latin America and that of the African countries, a process that must be tackled creatively by both regions, within a different context of international collaboration and reciprocal interests.

Latin America and its economic core, Brazil, offers particularly interesting opportunities for international joint ventures in many areas of economic interest.

At present, among the developed countries, Japan is in the best position to take advantage of such opportunities. If a serene analysis of the long-term perspectives of the present relations among Japan and the developed countries were undertaken by the Japanese planning bodies, the Latin American economic realm would certainly receive an adequate amount of concerned attention.

Japan is struggling to establish a suitable place for herself in the new international order now under gestation, and the Japanese are trying to evaluate the recent developments in the world economic and political structure.

Ironically, Japan is responsible for this world restructuring, although this seems not to be perceived yet by the Japanese themselves.

One has to be very innocent-minded, or very lacking in historical perspective, not to realize that the European countries are not taking such hard steps as to forget their centuries of economic and political rivalries and endeavouring to form a huge and cohesive economic bloc just to see themselves once again humbled by alien powers from outside the Continent.

One has to be very pig-headed and simple-minded as some Japanese are, in order not to perceive that the West will not commit again the error once made by the U.S. in kindling a rival which seems to recognize no boundaries and whose only aim seems to be the attainment of international supremacy in the economic field, for not yet specified purposes, either at home or abroad.

Instead of spending her energies in extending credits and investments to the U.S., aggravating and delaying thereby a most needed redressing of that powerful economy, Japan should be looking elsewhere, and should be hastening to establish a broader base for her future national security.

This could be achieved in four different world areas, now seen as unworthy of Japanese consideration : The Socialist Bloc, Latin America, Africa and Asia.

The Socialist Bloc at present struggles for modernization, social and political reforms. Some steps have already been taken in these directions, which were supposed to be most unlikely, if not impossible just a couple of years ago. This huge socialist economic universe extends from the doorstep of Japan into the heart of Europe.

It is undeniable that the unfortunate policies adopted by these countries, and the Western reactions to them, helped to create an

artificial cleavage in the world's economy, in which half of humanity is denied normal interaction with the other half.

This situation cannot be sustained any longer and Japan could, if she wished, help to give an acceleration to this process of economic reunification between the Socialist and the Western Blocs.

The overtures of the Soviet Union towards Japan have been many, but the response has been unduly cold and short-sighted.

Another alternative open for the expansion of the Japanese economic presence in the world, in a way that could diminish her frictions with the developed countries, at the same time as it would help to bring a closing to the existing gap between rich and poor nations, would be her acceptance of a stronger role in the development process of the Third World, which naturally includes China, the Asian countries, Africa and Latin America.

Plans for joint Japanese-Chinese development projects in North Eastern China have been recently formulated in China herself. That both countries have much in common is obvious.

Some analyses recently published in Asia focus the New Industrializing Countries in this region as challenges to Japan, an approach which helps to strengthen rather than eliminate the resistances of the Japanese towards more involvement in the development process of these neighbouring nations.

In the highly probable hypothesis of a participation of these countries in development projects in the Soviet Far East and Siberia, stronger associations of Japan with them would result in an ideal combination of favourable factors, capital, technology, plentifulness of skilled and half-skilled labour and untapped resources, which certainly could secure the success of the economic integration of Soviet Asia into the Asian-Pacific economic realm.

In this connection, it is unfortunate that stronger

understanding with Australia is not more energetically sought, as a most necessary step towards greater integration of the Asian-Pacific economic poles for their further development and reciprocal reinforcement.

But Latin America is certainly, of all world regions, that which has been most friendly and receptive to the Japanese presence, and this is indeed a highly interesting and discrepant historical fact.

The reason is that this region was too far from the Pacific war zone to have to recollect any aggression from the Japanese side.

Brazil and Peru and, to a lesser extent other South American countries, can also boast of having significant percentages of Japanese immigrants within their populations, in an almost complete state of cultural assimilation and perfect political, economic, racial and social integration.

In the Latin American cases, the Japanese presence has not been marked, as it is now in the U.S., by a high influx of capital, but rather by the presence of real people, who brought to these countries just their bodies and their brains and very little else.

In the Brazilian case, they were able to work out an almost revolutionary change in traditional agricultural methods and they have been able to rear lots of children and to see them climbing gallantly up the social, intellectual and political ladders to the top positions in the nation.

It is amusing to discover how little is known in Japan about the great contribution of these Japanese boat people to the development of distant lands, and it is painful to understand how little the Japanese in their homeland today, can realize that to a large extent the good will towards them in Latin America has not been fostered by their banks or multinationals, but rather exist as the concrete results of the labours and endeavours of Japan's emigrants and of their unfailing dedication and donation of themselves to their new mother countries.

A Brazilian, for instance, travelling to Japan for the first time, has no concern about the kind of people he will find there, because the image of a Japanese person he has built into his mind is naturally patterned on those of the gentle friends and caring acquaintances he is leaving behind, down there at home.

South America is therefore a most receptive region for Japanese activities, and its development is a much simpler task than that of Asia or Africa, due to the Western character of its origins and the absence of racial, religious or linguistic problems.

Notwithstanding, this is one of the most isolated regions in the world, even more so than Africa or Australia, and besides the South American continent is in a very awkward position in relation to the present pattern of world regional economic development. All the main poles of development are far away from South America today.

Since the opening of the Suez Canal, around 1865, and of that of Panama early in this century, the Atlantic side of the continent has lost its role as a necessary entrepot for the merchandizing between Europe, North America and Asia.

This isolation is now contributing to the economic integration of the South American nations, a process in which Japan can play a very important role.

It is not difficult to see how a developed South America could contribute to the revival of neighbouring Africa, and further strengthening the Pacific Rim, to which she also naturally belongs.

The opening of roads and railroads to link the Atlantic to the Pacific will be an indispensable step to make a reality any integration scheme for the continent.

Geographically, the South American mainland suffers the same handicaps as Japan, being, as it is, separated into two isolated parts by the huge mountain range of the Andes, which runs from North to South, close to the Pacific coasts on the West side of the continent.

Transport and an infrastructure not difficult to establish, are all that is needed to transform the region into a most attractive and rewarding tourist resort for Europeans, Asians and Americans.

Brazil and Argentina, now coming closer to each other through the establishment of an economic integration agreement, will constitute the backbone of the economic development of the continent, together with Venezuela and Mexico, as the Northern limit of the region.

Unfortunately, the international community is too much ravished by the birth of a new Europe, and the U.S. is too much concerned with its own waning hegemony, to perceive how easy and profitable it would be to start a kind of "Marshall Plan" for Latin America, one centering on social, food, educational and health projects, destined to bring to an end the wasting of young human life in this region and to make it into one of the leading poles of the world's development.

Fortunately, the development of Latin America will occur at a moment in which the ecological preoccupations are high on the globe, so that many of the errors committed in the past in other regions can be avoided.

In all this Japan may be a part and play a role, if only she will.

Some problems now being posed in Japan as insoluble, such as that of the ageing of her population, could find a suitable equationing if the country could make up her mind and find herself again prepared to participate in the global life, not only through the presence of her banks and multinationals, but also through the actual presence of living people in large numbers with the purpose of giving a lasting human dimension to her economic and financial presence in the five great regions of the world.

An informed Japanese reading these proposals, could retort that

Japan has already assumed most of the bills related to the granting of foreign aid, and therefore, perhaps, the nation would appreciate not to listen about further roles.

If that is the case, perhaps we could suggest new approaches for Japan towards the developing countries.

The acceptance of this would entail scraping some ineffectual roles now being played at great cost by Japan in the international scene, at the same time as she would become creditor of the admiration and respect once bestowed upon the U.S. for granting real services and the right kind of aid to the needy.

'THE AWAKENING OF BRAZIL : THE BRAZILIAN POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT AND DEBT CRISIS'

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ABSTRACT : This paper depicts the economic awakening of Brazil in the Latin American context, since the 1930s, and draws some comparisons with the Japanese post-war development. Many of Brazil's apparent problems today, in the economic as well as in the social and political spheres, stem from the fundamental changes in the price structure of the World economy, in the aftermath of the oil-shocks, in the 1970s. The foreign debt stalemate in which Brazil is plunged obliterates the fact that the Brazilian is one of the most rapid and successful cases of transformation of a rural slave-based economy into an industrializing modern democratic country, in less than one hundred years.

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'THE AWAKENING OF BRAZIL : THE BRAZILIAN POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT AND DEBT CRISIS'

The present world outcry about the changing composition of gases in the earth's upper atmosphere, allegedly as a result of industrial pollution by the industrialized countries and unwise agricultural projects in the developing countries, has ended by attracting the general attention to the Amazon rain-forest, especially to the Brazilian part of it. At the end of 1988 the influential NHK of Japan repeatedly broadcasted a documentary program featuring the occupation of Rondonia and Acre, two Brazilian states of recent creation, and still suffering a marked process of population influx, necessarily followed by deforestation.

The television documentary conveyed a vivid image of the human helplessness in the region, and also captured some of the political strife now ravaging the area, where traditional patterns of occupation based on what we in Brazil call extractivism, or appropriation of natural products spontaneously supplied by the forest, are crashing against more aggressive methods, beginning to be used and aimed at an extensive land clearing, for the introduction of cattle raising, or in order to establish sites for mineral extraction.

To have a precise idea of what is actually happening in Brazil is a most necessary step before any judgement can be passed, especially by foreigners. To explain the deep causes of it is important to deter hasty and inconsiderate actions from abroad, which may add further complications to an already highly complex and painful picture.

But I will not occupy myself with any discussion on whether the fires in the Amazon are a main cause of world pollution, because industrialized countries like the U.S., Japan, the Soviet Union and

those in Europe have been polluting and contaminating the air, the seas, and the ground for many centuries, and they do not seem over-concerned about their own actions.

I just want to expose a few facts that occurred in our own life-time in Brazil and abroad which are the deep roots of our country's problems at present.

First of all, let us dispel the idea of unity, uniformity or reciprocal understanding among the countries of Latin America.

Brazil, for instance, is quite a continent in herself, with her own language and different racial composition, culture and national objectives. Argentine and Mexico besides a common language and religion, have nothing else in common. Cuba, Equador, Paraguai and Uruguai are four separate universes struggling with different problems.

But Latin America is a region composed of independent countries since the early 1800's, that is to say, since the time when Asia and Africa started to experience the territorial expansion and adventures of the European powers. This sad phase of imperialism was responsible for the diversion of energies that could have been more profitably employed to increase the population and to develop many of the Latin American nations at an earlier stage.

It is an established fact that Latin America has already had almost two centuries of economic autonomy and political independence, and her peoples are extremely sensitive to any foreign interference in their Continent or in their national lives.

The distress of some small nations in this region, coping with foreign intervention in their internal affairs by world powers, should not be taken as a model that could be extended there at will or at any time by anyone without possible painful and lasting consequences for the peace of the whole World.

Joint efforts and moral suasion inside the limits of decent parameters will have more effect than attempting inconsiderate methods, as is becoming a habit among the self-appointed guardians of the human bliss in this world.

Japan came to perceive that she was weak and lacking in development when the country was forced to open her ports, in 1853. since then this nation has been doing nothing else than trying to become strong and self-reliant, even at the price of some painful humiliation at the hands of foreign powers now and then.

As a matter of fact there is no reason to suppose there may exist in the world a nation whose preoccupations are not exactly those related to national survival and happiness.

Brazil, in her turn, came to perceive her underdevelopment, her poverty and fragility during World War II, when she was persuaded to declare war on Italy, Japan and Germany.

The presence of a Brazilian military contingent in Italy, as an fighting force, at the side of the U.S., tightened the ties among the military establishments of both countries and inaugurated a period of intense thinking and planning about our country's role in the security of the West and her potential for economic growth and social development.

The reconstruction of Japan and that of the other ravaged countries in Europe through massive American aid, under the guidance of the U.S. military forces, only served to reassure the Brazilians in their endeavours to achieve, by the same methods and under governmental direction, their long-awaited economic take-off.

The Cold War and the associated anti-Soviet and anti-Communist frenzy created an atmosphere of international mistrust and fostered even more within the military establishments the conviction that they alone were the pillars of freedom and development. And development

itself was made synonymous with security. "To develop is to become secure."

Brazil started her development after the second World War, by extending electrification in the South East of the country and by linking the main cities of this region by a suitable network of roads, at the same time as the auto-industry, established in the late 1950s, was growing to become the mainspring of the economy.

After the Cuban Revolution (1957) and the strengthening of the Cold War, it was inevitable that the military establishment would come to seize power in the 1960s, with U.S. instigation.

As the Cubans started to try to export their revolution towards the continent, guerrilla warfare spread throughout the region, and even Brazil experienced some of it, in the Amazon jungle.

The independence of British Guiana, under a socialist government, increased even more the preoccupation of the Brazilian military, more recently, making them very concerned with the security of the Northern region of the country (in fact 50% of the nation's territory), the Amazon Basin.

All this happened at a time when the long and painful process of eradication of the European political presence from Asia and from Africa was in full development under the joint pressures of the U.S. and of the Soviet Union, through the United Nations.

In the midst of these great political upheavals all over the world, Brazil seemed like an island of peace and security, and a very safe haven for international direct investments and loans.

During most of the twenty years (1964-1985) of military control in Brazil, the country has enjoyed exceptional good will from international institutions, multinational corporations, public and private bankers.

The 1960s and early 1970s saw also in Brazil unprecedented development growth rates, just as in Japan.

The transfer of the national capital city towards the Central Uplands of Goias certainly marked the beginning of an inexorable march to the West, with the delocalization of the population and of economic activities, a process still far from being concluded.

Brazil is now moving towards the Pacific and the economic dynamism of this region at present, and its promises for the future will make a simple matter of common sense the opening of outlets for Brazilian products on the Pacific coast of the Continent.

This will mean at the same time the consolidation of a long-desired process of economic integration of Brazil with the countries of South America belonging to the Pacific Basin.

The construction of Brasilia, the new capital, inaugurated in 1960 on the outskirts of the Amazon forest, was hailed throughout the World as a major deed, demonstrating the virility of a new nation. This event was to bring great consequences for the internal distribution of the country's population in the following years.

Like the Japanese, for centuries confined to their four main islands, ignorant of the outside world, the Brazilians, too, have spent 300 years of their history confined to the sea-coasts of the Atlantic, devoid of any contact with foreigners except the Portuguese, from 1500 to 1808, when a few ports were open to the British, in exchange for their protection against Napoleonic challenges.

In this century, until 1960, no strong effort was made to attract people from the coast to the heart of the country. Brasilia changed this, and a network of roads was conceived to link the new capital to all the main population centres of the land, most of them located on the Atlantic coast.

Unfortunately, after the introduction of the car, railroads were never viewed as a better alternative in a vast country like Brazil. The few good ones that existed in Sao Paulo were even discouraged by

the infallible process of nationalization, in order to lead to their decay in favour of the blooming auto-industry, the real spring of early Brazilian industrialization.

The result of the last 25 years of economic development in Brazil may be said to be impressive in many respects, but especially in comparison with the past economic history of the country, and in its profound social consequences.

Brazil, by relying heavily on foreign aid, and thanks to the persistence of her economic policy, was able to complete her process of electrification, and a modern system of telecommunication was implanted. Urban infrastructure in the main cities was greatly developed. The industrial structure was transformed and modernized, and 80% of the population became urbanized.

However, the social consequences of these twenty five years of shallow economism have been grim for the social structure of the country, and calamitous for its political quadres.

In fact the unexpected influx of people into the Amazon wilderness today can only be understood if we take into account the social changes that occurred in Southern Brazil during these "miracle" years of rapid economic growth.

Brazil had inherited from her colonial days an agricultural structure that retained certain feudalistic traits in personal relations between the landowners and their employees.

These were seen as belonging to their farms as colonists, entitled to housing, participation in the final product through several different schemes, and politically bound to their employers. Some traits of the former master-slave relationship remained alive until the late 1940s.

Until around 1950, Brazil described herself as a country with an essentially agricultural profile and with just a few significant urban

centres, processing agricultural products industrially and carrying out administrative and other terciary activities. Early attempts at fuller industrialization were strongly resisted before the 1930s, due to the strong control of the state apparatus by the rural aristocracy.

This highly dependent economic structure inherited from the Empire period (1808-1989), and still exhibiting many traits of the slave economy, abruptly abolished in 1888, began to crack with the beginning of the industrialization upsurge in South-eastern Brazil around the cities of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in the 1930s, after a highly nationalistic coup-d'etat.

Development in this period was fueled by expanding coffee plantations, manned by successive waves of Japanese and white immigrants who transformed the social and economic structures in Southern Brazil, in the States of Parana, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, but above all in Sao Paulo.

As the oil crisis hit developed and developing countries alike in the 1970s, a desperate effort was made by the Brazilian government to increase agricultural production for export, including soybeans for Japan.

The old property pattern of land organization in the South was dismounted, as the need for higher productivity required mechanization and superior agricultural methods beyond the reach of small producers.

Small properties were sold and rural families from the South started moving North to the new lands now being offered around the roads spreading from Brasilia towards the yet unexplored savannah lands, the so-called 'cerrados' of Central Brazil, and also deep into the Amazon jungle, towards Rondonia and Acre or around the Belem-Brasilia axis.

The discovery of gold and other minerals under the forest was perhaps the most important factor of attraction for these people,

because the exploitation of timber or food products was hampered by the lack of suitable transport or by the sheer distance from the possible markets.

Brazil did not put a brake on her development during the oil crisis, and therefore plunged into snow-balling debt. Indebtedness was facilitated and even encouraged by the international community of bankers and development agencies as a suitable mechanism for the recycling of the surplus cash accumulated by the oil states gathered around OPEP.

The collapse of the Bretton-Woods Monetary Accord in the 1970s through American unilateral action, transformed this aid mechanism for developing countries into a time-bomb.

The problem has been denied a solution by the interested foreign counterparts, and a Brazilian institutional crisis, in the wake of the transition from military rule to civilian control since 1985, has impeded the settlement of this dispute between Brazil and her creditors.

With the removal of this bottle-neck, the Brazilian economic growth process will certainly take a renewed impulse.

The profile of the economy is expected to change, however, with the deepening of the present trends towards industrial deconcentration and the fostering of new industrial centres in the North and North-eastern parts of the country.

The summing-up of the last 25 years in Brazil, in social terms, could be translated by a too rapid growth of urban centres around the country and the urbanization of virtually 80% of the population.

The political effect of all this on the future decisions of the nation is easy to forecast.

In the area of economic policy the country is becoming mature enough to accept deregulation, privatization and a drastic reduction

of the role of the state in the economy and the consequent thinning of its bureaucratic apparatus.

Taking the Brazilian experience as a reference, it is perhaps safe to conclude that the best aid for a developing country is business and fair prices, not loans.

The Japanese process of economic development which occurred within very special circumstances, can reveal by comparison, a number of points to be changed in the international approach to the developing nations. Unfortunately, it seems that the Japanese themselves lack the capacity for translating their own experience in this sphere into appropriate instruments for international development.

'JAPAN'S DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC BIAS TOWARDS THE WESTERN DEVELOPED ECONOMIES : THE JAPAN-US RELATIONS'

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ABSTRACT : This paper criticizes the present Japanese bias towards the developed economies. This perverted diplomatic approach is the result of several restrictions imposed on Japan in the wake of its defeat in World War II, and in the process of her conversion into a suitable aircraft-carrier for the U.S. in the Far East. Contrarily to many European nations who are painfully trying to recover their full nationhood and self-determination, the Japanese resignedly accept their humbled position in exchange for the economic advantages of an ill-defined and already imperiled position in the outskirts of the global economy.

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'JAPAN'S DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC BIAS TOWARDS THE WESTERN DEVELOPED ECONOMIES : THE JAPAN-US RELATIONS'

The key to an understanding of Japan's position in the global community today is her so-called special relationship with the US since the end of World War II.

Several efforts are apparently being made by Japan aimed at mending the damage being caused to this alliance by the growing economic weight of the Japanese economy in the international context.

The basic incongruity of the Japanese-US relations at present is the fact that the Americans are losing their post-war hegemonic position, in the business as well as in the financial field, and assuming a less dynamic economic profile. Their military role in the World is also becoming obsolete in face of the re-emergence of European economic and political might, the development of Asia, and the inexorable thawing of the Cold War barriers, erected by the US herself and by the Soviet Union and China, to their reciprocal damage.

Since the beginning of the American Occupation in Japan, this country has been enjoying a vastly advantageous position vis-a-vis the US. Present day Japan's economic strength would not have been possible without US protection and patronage and will not be easily maintained if the United States decides to correct the present imbalance of the American economy. A revision of the role of the US in the World, and her military withdrawal from Asia will affect the strategic importance of Japan for the West.

Economically, the US will no longer be in a position to maintain her high levels of government expenditure, in which the military and defence costs abroad share a significant proportion.

During the last fifty years, Japan has been thriving under the military umbrella of the US, while playing a passive role in her Cold

War strategies as an unsinkable aircraft-carrier for the American armed forces in the Far East. At present, Japan still does not pay the full costs of her own defence, to the dismay of the whole World and of the American tax-payers.

Morally and politically the Japanese position is not very comfortable because, although the economy has been profiting immensely from this dependence on the US, the situation imposes extreme limitations on Japan's external policies as a nation.

Several solutions advanced by the US since 1973,to redress the economic imbalances of the American-Japanese relations, backfired and resulted only in new improved opportunities for the economic onslaught on the United States by Japan's business interests.

Japan is increasing her share in the economic burden of several international institutions created for the granting of economic aid to the developing countries, or for the maintainance of the mechanisms of the coordination of the Western alliance.

In exchange for these growing financial expenditures, the Japanese are assuming a wider participation in world political decisions, inside a global partnership with the US.

This, however, can easily be perceived as an attempt to divert US attention from the burning economic and financial stalemate between the two countries to a less controversial set of problems, such as the newly invented environmental destruction, drugs control, AIDS research, regional conflicts, Third World debt crises, a louder voice for Japan in the IMF (one commensurate with Japan's economic prominence, so they say) and so forth.

The implementation of increased Japanese-US cooperation on world issues has been suggested repeatedly by Japan over the last two years. It is understood as an appropriate device for dampening the anti-Japanese sentiment, frequently voiced by the US Congress and mass

media, as a consequence of the trade imbalances and sharpening of Japanese competition against American corporations.

The Japanese, nevertheless, usually refuse to admit any possibility of entering into a collision course with the US, despite the fierce trade and economic disputes between the two economies in the wake of the occurrence of huge trade surpluses in Japan's balance of payments for several consecutive years.

However, dialogue between the two countries on trade issues is in most instances, an extremely boring exercise in mutual misunderstanding, thanks to the unique structure of the Japanese government, society and business sector.

Japan, despite the contents of her 1946 Constitution, hastily drafted by the American Occupation authorities and humbly accepted by the Japanese, is not a democracy, but rather an oligarchy of bureaucratic, political factions embedded in parties, religious organizations and pressure groups of industrialists and farmers.

In this context, the Diet and its two Houses of Representatives join hands with the Prime Minister and the Cabinet to exhibit a shining external facade of an authentic democratic system. In fact this democratic game is played just for the political comfort of the outside World.

The first preoccupation of every newly elected Prime Minister in Japan is to carry out, as soon as possible, an official visit to the American President in Washington, a move some critical Japanese compare to the obligatory visits a medieval Japanese landlord was expected to make to the Tokugawa Shogun in Edo...

On these occasions they are shown on Japanese television behaving in a very un-Japanese way, mixing and shaking hands with foreign crowds, kissing babies and laughing handsomely as good sportsmen. They then listen long and patiently to all complaints, give

short polite and stereotyped answers at press interviews, subscribe shallow joint communiques, and finally fly home, to plunge into the cold and general indifference of their silent compatriots, and to brace against the petty scandals associated with the "money-politics" of Japan.

In the meantime, the bureaucrats keep the reins of government and ponder on what is good for Japan, and the businessmen keep thinking about what is good for themselves, inside and outside Japan. Business corporations eagerly recruit every year the best of the Japanese youth to carry on this job, and also gladly hire retiring government bureaucrats willing to start a new career, this time directly in business.

This happy marriage between business and bureaucracy in Japan is the key to an understanding of her economic and financial success and her imperviousness to appeals or criticism.

The present world economic and political situation is appropriate for Japan so that all efforts will be made to maintain the international status quo, still founded on the old arrangements and institutions inherited from the aftermath of World War II. The US plays a fundamental role in any Japanese vision of a world suitable for themselves.

The new detente between East and West, however, may bring surprises for Japan's position, because it will lessen the strategic importance of her islands, and also because the refractory policy of the US towards the USSR may soon be discarded, despite the initial resistance of interested groups. But Japan is not eager to accept these facts and proclaims that she does not yet perceive any necessity to make fundamental changes in the US-Japanese security ties, which are based on the bilateral Security Treaty of 1963.

This treaty is very annoying to the Soviet Union. It supplies a

justification for the Soviet arms build-up in the Far East and annihilates any hopes of a more productive intercourse among the countries facing the Sea of Japan. This region could become a thriving economic zone, including both Koreas, China, Japan and the Soviet Far East. The Japanese, though, are betting on the continuation of an East-West stalemate, because this is useful to themselves.

Japan, in practice, is still occupied by US forces, just as Germany still is. A decisive incentive for the withdrawal of these American air, sea and land troops would be the end of the Cold War, and the increasing opportunity costs of maintaining these forces abroad in the presence of more pressing American internal non-military problems.

The American troops are predicated as necessary for Japan's defence, but are felt by the Japanese people as humiliating and are resented as an economic nuisance by Okinawa, which apparently has not shared in the increased prosperity of the main Northern islands.

The bearing of the full costs of the American presence by Japan would transform the US from an occupying power into a nation providing mercenary troops for the defense of third parties, the same role the Cubans have been playing in Angola.

While remaining cautious in not disturbing the arrangements inherited from the post-war period, Japan is urging for a greater participation in the Asia-Pacific arena through a variety of means, which would necessarily involve the US in other Asiatic regions, and would permit a reentry of the Japanese into Asian affairs as a necessary ally, ready to pay the monetary costs of any suitable new regional arrangement.

Several flaws can be easily perceived in the argument of a necessary and mutually useful US-Japanese alliance.

First of all, for most of her history the US has not had any

need for Asia. The deep involvement of the US in Asian affairs is a consequence of Japanese actions, a well-known historical fact of recent memory.

Second, there is no reason for the continuation of the US-Soviet unfriendliness. By and large, the Soviet Union could be a more appropriate economic partner for the US, even if some limitations imposed by the socialist context could be maintained for a prolonged interval.

Third, Japan's present position is based entirely on suppositions. One of these is the assumption involving the future maintainance of a friendly free-trade environment, the other is that which considers feasible a Japanese expansion in Europe similar to that accomplished in the US.

Japanese foreign policy is dictated by, and attends to, the necessities of Japanese economic penetration in the World.

Therefore, Japan's foreign policies are sensible to the inexorable laws of Economics, and deaf to moral or philosophical pleas. In other words, the Japanese will be found to be prepared to exploit the opportunities they find open to them at home and/or abroad. They will comply and adapt to irresistible real constraints, but will not be able to react to theoretical considerations about fairness or unfairness in economic relations.

Pressure on the apparent governmental bodies of Japan, i.e. the Prime Minister and the political parties represented in the Diet, will lead nowhere, and will produce no results except formal and polite promises of compliance, and a highly perceptible malaise in the Japanese public.

The US must be resigned to the idea that a new Japanese state ideology, which could be named 'Economism', makes them sensible only to strong economic arguments and concrete action.

Japan is an open dependent nation. Despite their natural frailty, the Japanese have been successful in managing their own national life in the best possible way, coping with both the scarcity of resources in their homeland and the maintainance of their historical, cultural and social identity in the last 500 years.

Some requests which are being made on them are unreasonable in view of their concrete, social and political circumstances, at home.

Therefore, economic imbalances should be corrected through appropriate actions by the interested party abroad.

Instead of menacing and lecturing the Japanese about the convenience of not succeeding, the US should adopt drastic measures to correct and mend herself, following frequent Japanese advice.

The seriousness of the existing imbalances, however, and the political and economic restructuring of the World, should alert the Japanese businessmen and their allied bureaucrats (the real governmental bodies in Japan) to the need of devising survival strategies for the country in the future.

These, undoubtedly, would include a diversification of the regions targeted by Japanese Economism. Over-concentration of business in the US, or any other region, should be avoided.

Several other groups of nations in various parts of the world could be approached and could become willing partners for a more prudent, long-sighted and self-restrained Japanese expansion, one suitable for the long-term interests of their people and more acceptable to the World.

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Note : Instead of a preliminary bibliography I annex here a List of Books on Japan, compiled by the Library Section of the Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies of the Bank of Japan.

This list which came into my hands, in my very first visit to the Institute, in Nihonbashi, was very useful to me in Japan and is associated with fruitful days of research, at the library of Research Division I.

It is necessary to emphasize that full collections like this one of books on Japan, in foreign languages, are not easily found in that country, or at least not readily accessible to a researcher in need.

Those intending to go there, without possessing sufficient mastery of written Japanese, should be most careful in selecting their host institutions, and in establishing additional contacts with other research centres, in the area of their residence, in order to dispose of the indispensable means for carrying out their projects.

July, 1988

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1 'Research Project Outline : The Japanese Economic System and Its Environment : A Study on the Economic Development of Japan and Its Main Causes.'

ABSTRACT: This paper outlines the objectives and contents of a long-term project on Japan's economy and economic system, and the main causes, proximate or remote, of her post-war economic development.

* * *

2 'The Japanese Process of Economic Development : A Preliminary Historical-Economic Overview.'

ABSTRACT: This paper proposes a particular chronological division for the study of the Japanese evolution from an economic point of view. It suggests the hypothesis that the economic development of Japan in the past as well as in the present, derives from adequate answers to extremely constraining environmental conditions, both physical and political, as well as social ones.

* * *

3 'New Roles for Japan in the Economic Development of Central and South America.'

ABSTRACT: This paper purports to study some aspects of the Brazilian-Japanese relations in the post-war years and to point out a few roles Japan could play in the economic development of Latin America. The argument centers on the idea that the economic position of Japan in the world economy today is imperiled by her inadequate insertion into the global economy. A safer long run situation could be

fostered, if the economic drive of the Japanese were diverted towards developing, or neglected areas such as the Southern parts of the American Continent and the Soviet bloc.

* * *

4 'The Awakening of Brazil : The Brazilian Post-War Development and Debt Crisis.'

ABSTRACT: This paper depicts the economic awakening of Brazil in the Latin American context, since the 1930s, and draws some comparisons with the Japanese post-war development. Many of Brazil's apparent problems today, in the economic as well as in the social and political spheres, stem from the fundamental changes in the price structure of the World economy, in the aftermath of the oil-shocks, in the 1970s. The foreign debt stalemate in which Brazil is plunged obliterates the fact that the Brazilian is one of the most rapid and successful cases of transformation of a rural slave-based economy into an industrializing modern democratic country, in less than one hundred years.

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5 'Japan's Diplomatic and Economic Bias Towards the Western Developed Countries : The Japan-US Relations.'

ABSTRACT: This paper criticizes the present Japanese bias towards the developed economies. This perverted diplomatic approach is the result of several restrictions imposed on Japan in the wake of its defeat in World War II, and in the process of her conversion into a suitable aircraft-carrier for the U.S. in the Far East. Contrarily to many European nations who are painfully trying to recover their full

nationhood and self-determination, the Japanese resignedly accept their humbled position in exchange for the economic advantages of an ill-defined and already imperiled position in the outskirts of the global economy.

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6 Bibliographical List.

ABSTRACT: A list of books on Japan, at 30th June 1988, in languages other than Japanese and available on the shelves in "The Japan Corner' of the Library Section of the Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies of the Bank of Japan (July 1988).

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